

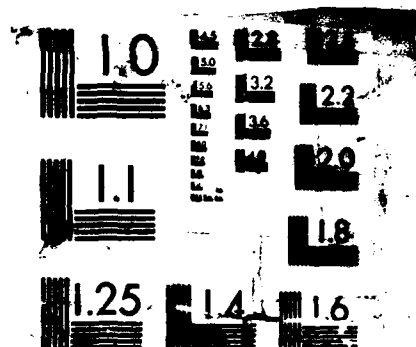
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1 JUNE 1987

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**CHALLENGES TO U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE PHILIPPINES:  
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT SOURCES**

AD-A184 014

by

The 434th Military Intelligence Detachment



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Final Report

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---

U.S. Army Reserve Advisor  
Colonel John W. De Pauw

---

Team Members  
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Lieutenant Colonel Robert H. D'Angelo  
Major Louis J. Barbagallo  
Major Robert R. Simmons  
Chief Warrant Officer Alan D. Tompkins  
Sergeant First Class Bernard D. Tollasi  
Staff Sergeant Joseph C. Mike  
Sergeant Fred T. Rein  
Sergeant John E. Resler  
Specialist 4 Nancy Brault  
Mr. Bryan Hemmerly, Dickinson College

---

Project Coordinator  
Lieutenant Colonel(P) Todd R. Starbuck

---

Editor  
Mrs. Marianne Cowling

---

Secretaries  
Rita A. Rummel  
Shirley E. Martin

\* \* \* \* \*

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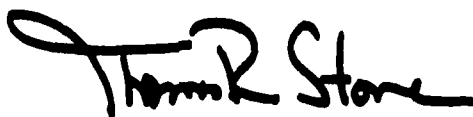
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## FOREWORD

This bibliography was prepared as the 1987 training project of the 434th Military Intelligence Detachment (Strategic), a U.S. Army Reserve unit, in conjunction with analysts at the Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), United States Army War College (USAWC). The purpose of the bibliography is to provide a comprehensive collection of references on the Philippines for researchers interested in the recent history of this important area of the world.

The 434th MID, one of two Military Intelligence Detachments assigned to the SSI, USAWC, conducts its annual training with SSI. Members of the MID study team were COL Charles N. Reading, MID Commander; LTC Robert H. D'Angelo; MAJ Louis J. Barbagallo; MAJ Robert R. Simmons; CWO Alan D. Tompkins; SFC Bernard D. Tollasi; SSG Joseph C. Mike; SGT Fred T. Rein; SGT John E. Rasler; SP4 Nancy Brault.

Mr. Bryan Hemmerly, a research intern from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, supplemented the efforts of the 434th MID, and contributed a large number of the bibliographic entries.



THOMAS R. STONE  
Colonel, FA  
Director, Strategic Studies Institute

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguirre, Alexander P. A People's Revolution of Our Time. Quezon City: Pan-Service Master Consultants, Inc., 1986.

A primary source for the events that occurred in the Philippines during the People's Revolution of February 22-25, 1986. This book presents the events which led to the unique extra-constitutional change in government without significant bloodshed. It provides a human interest perspective, as well as a chronicle of the military and political events during this critical period.

Anglioto, Jose L. "Davao Weekly Assesses Causes, Solutions to NPA Problems." Mindanao Times. April 4, 1985 [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-075, April 11, 1985, pp. P1-4.]

During the decade 1974-1984, the NPA has increased in strength by 2000%. The author attributes this to 10 root causes. These causes are analyzed in their historic context and suggestions are made to remedy each.

Aquino, Belinda A. "The Philippines: End of an Era." Current History, Vol. 85, No. 510, April 1986, pp. 155-158, 184-185.

A report on the recent history of the Philippines, from the corruption of the Marcos regime to the challenges that lie ahead for Corazon Aquino. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the U.S., because of its close ties to Marcos, is associated with much of the corruption of the past. This could reduce our future influence in the Philippines.

"Aquino Discusses U.S. Visit, Fate of Marcos." Business Day (Quezon City, Philippines), September 11, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-176, p. P1.]

This article analyzes the geographic advantages of regional cease-fires over a national level cease-fire due to Philippine insularity and concurrent NPA/MNLF insurgencies.

Armacost, Michael H. The United States and the Philippines: Dangers and Opportunities. American Embassy, Tokyo: Press Office, United States Information Service, 1985.

This is an address presented to the Oregon World Affairs Council outlining U.S. policy towards the Philippines. The speaker assured the audience that the United States cares greatly about the future of the Philippines, and that we intend to do everything possible to ensure the continuance of a peaceful democracy in that country. The crisis facing the Philippines is expressed in three forms: the legitimacy of the government, economic depression, and the Communist-led insurgency. No matter how severe these problems may be, the Filipino people, through reforms and elections, as well as their democratic history, will overcome their problems. The United States can do little more than it is now doing for the Philippines; however, increased economic support would alleviate some of the pressures on the Philippine government.



Barnes, Fred. "The Shaking of a President." The New Republic, Vol. 194, No. 6, February 10, 1986, pp. 16-20.

This is a good presentation of the political scene prior to the 1986 election and the subsequent peaceful revolution. The author gives an inside view of the nature of the deteriorating, but still potent political machine of President Marcos and the popular, but inexperienced coalition behind Cory Aquino. All facets of the campaigning done by both groups are explored, and Barnes concludes that whatever the result of the election, Marcos will try a strategem to maintain his power.

Bello, Walden. "Aquino's Elite Populism: Initial Reflections." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1986, pp. 1020-1030.

This article looks at the various factions that make up the new government under Corazon Aquino and attempts to forecast the implications of this factionalism for American interests. Aquino's strong anti-fascist, anti-elitist tendencies could be dangerous to Washington since those were the forces that the U.S. supported in the past. Also, Aquino's policy of reconciliation with the Left could pose some future problems for the U.S. if Marxist forces gain too much influence in the government. Overall, however, Bello does not believe that Aquino's elite populism will hurt the U.S. because she still has a strong dependence on the military and some of the former elite, both of which have an interest in maintaining a good relationship with the U.S.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "Edging Toward the Quagmire: The United States and the Philippine Crisis." World Policy Journal, Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter 1985-86, pp. 29-58.

This article criticizes U.S. statements in late 1985 which were openly interventionist toward the unrest in the Philippines. Bello believes that this direction in U.S. foreign policy could be disastrous since it would lead to a "freezing-out" of the Left in the Philippines, which would only further polarize the political situation and prolong the civil violence and suffering for the Filipino people. Bello believes the best course for U.S. policy to take is one which will allow the Filipino people to determine their own form of government. In the long run this will benefit the U.S., since a relationship with the Philippines can only be based on mutual respect.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "From the Ashes: The Rebirth of the Philippine Revolution--A Review Essay." Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1986, pp. 258-276.

An examination of the growth of Philippine insurgency over the last 30 years. In this article, Bello examines some of the recent works on Communist insurgency and contrasts them to his own vision of the situation. After looking at the insurgency's historical development, Bello makes a quick assessment for the future. The NPA and CPP have been very successful because they have been able to fuse revolutionary zeal at all levels of the movement, but the final goal of national control seems unlikely because of the U.S. presence and commitment to a free Philippines.

Beri, H. M. L. "The Philippines and the USA." Strategic Analysis, Vol. 9, No. 5, August 1985, pp. 449-456.

An analysis of problems facing the Philippines, such as economic failure and Communist/Muslim insurgency, and the implications of this turmoil for U.S. military and geostrategic interests in Southeast Asia. The article concludes that the best course of action for the United States would be to force Marcos to make political and economic reforms in order to return stability to the Philippines.

Betts, Richard K. "Southeast Asia and U.S. Global Strategy: Continuing Interests and Shifting Priorities." Orbis, Vol. 29, No. 2, Summer 1985, pp. 351-385.

A study of the importance of Southeast Asia to U.S. global strategy in the past as well as in the foreseeable future. Southeast Asia is an area of great interest for U.S. foreign policy because (1) it is very close to the Soviet borders, and (2) it has proven many times to be a conflict zone between the forces of democracy and Marxism. Provides a useful overview of U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, even though it does not specifically address the Philippines.

Bilveer, S. "U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines." Asian Defence Journal, January 1986, pp. 22-28.

This article provides a well-rounded view of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines--their historical development, a description of the installations, and their overall importance to U.S. military strategy. The author then places these U.S. interests in the context of the present situation--Philippine instability, increasing anti-Americanism in Filipino society, and growing Soviet military expansion in the Asia-Pacific region. Bilveer concludes by saying that although there are alternative bases in the Pacific for American forces, the U.S. should try to retain Clark and Subic because they have developed into an integrated system which cannot be duplicated.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Internal Instability as a SLOC Problem." Asian Defence Journal, November 1986, pp. 16-26.

This article examines the internal instability of ASEAN nations to see if these movements could pose any threat to the sea lanes of communication (SLOC) in the Pacific region. Through his analysis of the problems currently facing ASEAN nations, Bilveer sees no overwhelming threat to any of the regimes; thus he believes that the status quo will hold. He feels that none of the problems in ASEAN nations, not even those facing Mrs. Aquino in the Philippines, are a real threat to the sea lanes. However, he warns against complacency. Problems must be dealt with in this region quickly and effectively if they are not to spread, thus threatening the vital Pacific sea lanes.

Borjai, Arturo A. "NPA Arms Snatching." Metro Manila Times, October 25, 1985, p. 4.

This is an analysis of NPA methods for acquiring weapons and the serious problems this poses for the AFP. It discusses methods for financing operations through the widely used and effective "forced tax collections" from tax evaders, loggers, and fish pond owners.

Bresnan, John, ed. Crisis in the Philippines--The Marcos Era and Beyond. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986.

An excellent and informative book which presents all facets of the Filipino-American relationship, from its early colonial history to an uncertain future. In a foreword, David D. Newsom, former U.S. ambassador in Manila, writes that the intent of this book is to present the American reader with thoughtful insights into the Philippines, thus making the current developments easier to understand. One other interesting note in the foreword is that Newsom believes that Americans, after reading this book, will find it unnerving to be reminded of our own colonial history juxtaposed with our role as the intrusive colonist in the Philippines.

Brown, Frederick and Ford, Carl. Situation in the Philippines. U.S. Congress. Committee on Foreign Relations. S. PRT. 98-237, 98th Cong., 2d sess., Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984.

A staff report prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and based on study missions during a 19-day period in the Philippines in May, June, and July 1984. While the general intent was to assess the political situation existing then, the implications of the NPA insurgency were examined in a separate chapter (Ch. III). In a series of four charts, basic but helpful information on NPA organization, strategy, tactics, and propaganda themes is presented.

Bunge, Frederica, ed. Philippines: A Country Study. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, 1984.

One of the many area handbooks prepared by the Foreign Area Studies School of American University for the Department of the Army, this volume covers the Philippines. Economics, national security, politics, social systems, and national institutions are examined, to include the interrelationships among them. In addition to the political analysis of the Philippines, this study includes extensive coverage of historical and cultural factors that are influential today. Although no longer as current as some other sources, it provides excellent overall background material on the Philippines.

Burton, Sandra. "Aquino's Philippines: The Center Holds." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 65, No. 3 (America and the World 1986), pp. 524-537.

A review of the accomplishments of Corazon Aquino in stabilizing her hold over the Philippine government, to include strengthening the moderate forces against both reactionaries and Communists. With many problems still facing the president, Burton believes that Aquino must continue to

win converts over to her moderate position, thus diminishing the respective power of the Left and the Right. Once this process is accomplished, Aquino can freely move the Philippines ahead on a democratic path.

Buss, Claude A. The United States and the Philippines. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977.

An examination of the problems that faced the Marcos regime at the end of the 1970's. Following his "revolution from the Right," Marcos created problems for the Philippines due to his one-sided policy of sacrificing individual needs for the sake of the nation. This type of policy caused turmoil and dissatisfaction with the "New Society." In addition to the economic problems, Marcos inherited an extremely dangerous insurgency problem which he only aggravated. Buss examines the threat posed by the Communist insurgency and shows how Marcos' continuance of martial law created unrest and displeasure among the people. Although at the time Marcos remained fairly strong, Buss identifies the growing instabilities and opposition to this American-sponsored autocrat.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Waking from a Dream." The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 29-33.

A historical examination of the relationship between the United States and the Philippines, with special emphasis on the growing tension between these two nations following World War II. This article traces the development of anti-American sentiment in the Philippine population, thus making it useful in evaluating the U.S. position in the Philippines today.

"Captured NPA Leader Reveals Plan." Manila Domestic Service. [FBIS-JPRS-83301-0161A, March 31, 1983, pp. P5-7.]

A captured NPA commander tells of plans to infiltrate the AFP with NPA adherents in order to gain military training, steal arms and ammunition, and obtain military documents.

"Cardinal Sin Supports Dialogue on Insurgency." Agence France Presse, (Hong Kong), November 2, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-212, November 3, 1986, p. P3.]

This report discusses the Church's position on negotiations and dialogue as a primary means of solving the insurgency problem.

Chanda, Nayan. "Some Hope, Some Fear." Far Eastern Economic Review, June 12, 1986, pp. 46-47.

This is an analysis of how the U.S. looks at Aquino's government and the NPA. The issue is raised as to how Aquino will deal with Communist insurgents and whether a policy of reconciliation with the guerrillas is naive.

Chappell, David, and Kessler, Richard J. "U.S. Security and the Philippines: An Exchange." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 41, No. 5, May 1985, pp. 38-40.

Chappell argues that there is no American dilemma in dealing with the political turmoil in the Philippines, because the U.S. military bases located in the Philippines no longer have any strategic importance. In Chappell's opinion, the Navy and Air Force have no need of the Philippines for forward-strike operations, because modern developments and military doctrine along with the lack of reliability have made foreign bases very unattractive. Chappell goes further by saying that the anti-Marcos forces, even if they do attain power, will most probably be moderate and would not sever the relationship with the U.S. Even if they do, he argues, the Philippines are no longer vital to our military and thus pose no real problem to American foreign policy. Kessler responds to Chappell's arguments by disagreeing with his premise--he believes that the Philippines serve a very important geostrategic role for the U.S. by its location alone. This article serves as an excellent debate on the military value of the U.S.'s Philippine bases and how they should influence American foreign policy.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "'Talks with Tribals'--Government Seeks Cease Fire with Minority Rebel Groups." Far Eastern Economic Review, October 2, 1986, p. 25.

Discussion of efforts of the Aquino government to negotiate a cease fire with minority rebel groups. These efforts are seen as a way to isolate the NPA.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "Please Hold Your Fire." Far Eastern Economic Review, December 11, 1986, pp. 48-50.

The article discusses two government-initiated peace accords with representatives of the Communist insurgency. The key point in the two accords is that both the government and the insurgents will cease all hostile activity for the next 60 days.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "An Island Without Joy." Far Eastern Economic Review, December 25, 1986, pp. 12-13.

The strategy of the CPP/NPA on the island of Samar is discussed--as well as the strength of CPP/NPA forces. However, the numbers given appear to be inflated.

"Communist-Government Integration to be Proposed." Hong Kong AFP in English, 0445 GMT, December 1, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-230, December 1, 1986, p. P5]

Communist negotiator Satur Ocampo suggests a coalition government with the central Philippine government and an integration of NPA personnel into the AFP.

"Defense Official Warns of Coming NPA Storm." Philippine News Agency (Manila), September 19, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-182, September 19, 1986, p. P4.]

Strong evidence concerning tax collections by the NPA in the countryside suggests that the tax levied is excessive and often extortionist. The geography of NPA taxation is related to the level of its control. In those areas where the government maintains control, NPA taxation is minimal or nonexistent.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Defense Minister on Changing NPA Leadership." Bulletin Today (Manila), October 12, 1985, p. 8. [JPRS-SEA-85-169, p. P26.]

Report on speech given by Defense Minister Enrile wherein he expresses general concern that victory by the Communists would lead to wholesale extermination. He sees the nature of the CPP leadership becoming less political and more military while the leadership lacks a substantial degree of political indoctrination.

DeGuzman, Roy S. "Leftist Leaders Call for Multi-Party System." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila), March 13, 1986, p. 2. [FBIS-APA-86-051, March 17, 1986, p. P20.]

Report of a symposium of leftist leaders which called for a legalization of currently "underground" leftist parties and a nationalist and revolutionary reform of the military.

\_\_\_\_\_. "NDF Continues to Press for Power-sharing Function." Philippine Daily Inquirer, (Manila), November 29, 1986, p. 1. [FBIS-APA-86-231, December 2, 1986. pp. P1-2.]

Satur Ocampo, chief negotiator for the NDF, states that objectives of the Front include a coalition government, improved human rights, national sovereignty and economic development. Elimination of U.S. bases and radical land reform are also high priorities of the NDF. NPA staff officer de la Paz clarifies NPA organizational, political and ideological objectives.

Denny, Jeffrey. "How Important Are Subic and Clark?" Military Logistics Forum, Vol. 2, No. 4, November-December 1985, pp. 15-18.

This article presents the argument that U.S. military bases in the Philippines are critical to our operations and their loss would be a blow to our military capability. The article contends that even though the Pentagon holds this belief, it seems to be unconcerned about the political turmoil in the Philippines. The Pentagon's opinion is that any coalition that comes to power will have to allow the U.S. to continue its military presence for the economic benefits alone. This confidence has yet to be justified.

DeVera, Jose. "Enrile: Promoting Assignments Based on Merit." Far Eastern Economic Review, February 28, 1986, p. 6.

This article views the military and offers a positive look at the people in the Philippines' military structure.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Further Details on NPA Purge Against Suspected Infiltrators." Far Eastern Economic Review, May 13, 1986, pp. 1-16.

Article talks about the positive effects of the governor's actions to counter the insurgency.

"Documents Seized in Raid of NPA Underground House." Philippine Daily Express (Manila), [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-093-64, May 23, 1985, pp. P1-3.]

Raid of a suspected NPA safe house yielded documents which revealed an "agaw-armas" operation to target police and military personnel as well as other firearms holders.

Doronila, Amando. "The Transformation of Patron-Client Relations and its Political Consequences in the Postwar Philippines." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1985, pp. 99-115.

This paper examines the underlying socioeconomic and political processes which were responsible for the shift in the balance of power in the Philippines away from the Congress toward the Executive in the early 1960's. It argues that the eventual concentration and control of patronage resources in the hands of a paternalistic state authority facilitated overthrow by Marcos of the old adversarial political order and gave rise to acceptance of the antigovernment factions.

Durbin, Tillman. "Philippine Communism." Problems of Communism, Vol. 25, May-June 1976, pp. 40-48.

This article provides an early analysis of the CPP/NPA movement in the Philippines and the threat that it poses to the Philippine government. It considers the difference in tactics and strategy employed by the two separate Communist movements--the Moscow-orientated PKP and the Peking-leaning factions of the CPP and the NPA--in their fight to overthrow democracy in the Philippines. The split of the Communist movement is viewed from a historical perspective, so that the differences in the threat which each poses to democratic stability can be examined. Durbin also looks at the policy that Marcos used in trying to weaken the Communist movement. Although his tactic of funneling power away from the radical NPA and CPP and giving it to the more moderate PKP worked for a while, Durbin believes that the future economic problems facing the Philippines could lead to a new growth of power for the radical Communists.

Enrile, Juan Ponce. "Defense Minister on Changing NPA Leadership." Bulletin Today, (Manila), October 12, 1985, p. 8.

Report on speech given by Defense Minister Enrile wherein he expresses general concern that victory by the Communists would lead to wholesale

extermination. He sees the nature of the CPP leadership becoming less political and more military, while the leadership lacks a substantial degree of political indoctrination.

"Enrile, Ramos Announce Dismantling of NISA, PSC." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). [FBIS. March 4, 1986, pp. P5-6.]

This article discusses significant changes in the military being made by members of Aquino's staff to assure no further "police state" in the Philippines.

"Enrile Says 'Balanced' Solution Is Needed." Radio Veritas in Tagalog, (Manila), September 25, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-187, September 26, 1986, p. P5.]

The formulation of concrete political, economic and social solutions to the Communist threat in the country was urged by Defense Minister Enrile. These steps, supplemented by military forces, would settle the insurgency problem and lead to national unity and cooperation.

"Enrile Says Insurgency Problem 'Really Alarming'." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong) in English, September 25, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-187, September 26, 1986, pp. P4-5.]

The steady growth of the NPA and the increased losses suffered by the AFP are described by Defense Minister Enrile as 'really alarming.' In Enrile's estimation, the guerrilla war is rapidly escalating to conventional war.

Feeney, William R. "The United States and the Philippines: The Bases Dilemma." Asian Affairs: An American Review, Vol. 10, No. 4, Winter 1984, pp. 63-85.

A historical analysis of the U.S. military commitment in Southeast Asia. This study closely examines the U.S. military presence in the Philippines--the amount that the U.S. has invested in this region and the strategic importance that is involved. It also notes that the U.S. bases serve a different function for Filipinos--they are an economic resource which is badly needed. Feeney concludes from his study that even though there is still much goodwill toward the U.S. among the people, U.S. policy must separate itself from Marcos and try to support a peaceful democratic political change in order to secure our interests.

Ford, Carl; Brown, Fred; and Ranis, Gustav. The Situation and Outlook in the Philippines. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. 98th Cong., 2d sess., Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

This report focuses primarily on the causes and effects of the Communist insurgency in the Philippines. It examines in detail the NPA and the gains it has enjoyed since 1972. The report also gives an excellent analysis of the impending fall of the Marcos regime and reasons for its failure.



Foz, Vincent B. "Enrile Warns of Losing Will to Fight Communists." Bulletin Today (Manila), June 22, 1986, pp. 2, 10.

Communist extortion tactics are expected to continue through the next decade regardless of changes in national leadership. NPA operations in rural areas illustrate acquisition of low-technology support capabilities, such as typewriters and calculators.

Golay, Frank H. "Presidential Address: Cause for Concern in the Philippines." Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 45, No. 5, November 1986, pp. 935-943.

This address ascribes Marcos's fall from power to the economic policies that he employed. Golay blames the political upheaval on years of economic mismanagement. By running up a huge foreign debt and funneling large amounts of funds into private holdings, Marcos created an environment which supported the growth of political opposition as well as military insurgency. Golay concludes that even though Mrs. Aquino has the popular support of the people, she still faces the immense task of repairing the economy.

Gregor, A. James. "The Philippine Crisis: The Real Options." Global Affairs, Vol. 1, Winter 1986, pp. 67-76.

Recognizing U.S. interests in the Philippines, this article attempts to propose the best course for U.S. policy to take in order to stabilize the Philippine government and to diminish the growing power of anti-American forces. Gregor believes that initially the U.S. must push for evolutionary change in the Philippines--increase representation of all sectors of the general population, make governmental agencies accountable for their actions, assure honest elections, and protect civil liberties of all citizens. This type of U.S. policy, Gregor believes, would lead to the formation of a national coalition that would lead the Philippines past the threat posed by the Communist insurgency. Such a result would be positive for the United States, since this type of coalition would be compatible with U.S. economic and security interests in the Philippines.

\_\_\_\_\_. "U.S. Bases in the Philippines: Assets or Liabilities?" The Defense Monitor, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1986, pp. 1-8.

This analysis of the Philippine situation looks at the problem for the U.S. in two different areas--political relations with the Philippines and the importance of our military bases. From a careful analysis of the situation, the author concludes that U.S. economic and political support for the Philippines should not hinge upon the status of our military bases. Although our military bases in the Philippines are convenient and useful, it is no longer true that they are essential to our security. All missions performed at these bases can be accomplished elsewhere in Southeast Asia with satisfactory results. As a result, the article concludes that U.S.-Philippine relations should not be damaged in any way by the question of continued existence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Succession in the Philippines: The Prevailing Alternatives and American Interests." The Atlantic Community Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 19-27.

This article examines the new Aquino regime and forecasts what lies ahead for American vested interests. Unlike many other observers, Gregor sees the future prospects for the U.S. to be very positive. Because of the influence of the Philippine military on the Aquino regime (especially men like Eusebio and Ramos) and the need for vast economic assistance, Gregor believes that this "new" regime will take on many of the characteristics of the Marcos regime, especially in the area of close relations with the U.S. The only problem that Gregor sees in the future for the stability of the Philippines is how the Aquino government deals with dissidents, within its own ranks, who become dissatisfied with the lack of revolutionary changes that they had anticipated.

\_\_\_\_\_. Crisis in the Philippines--Threat to U.S. Interests. Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1984.

In his foreword, Senator Howard Baker cites the book as a "thoughtful" contribution to a "better understanding of the mutual economic and security interests" of the Philippines and the U.S. The author, a professor of political science at the University of California (Berkeley), presents a factual examination of the political and economic environment of the Philippines in the context of its "special relationship" with the U.S., and the economic and political programs of the Marcos' regime. An analysis of the failures of Marcos' development program suggests some of the reasons for the country's continuing insurgency.

Gritz, Almerigo. "New People's Army." Soldier of Fortune, Vol. 12, No. 1, January 1987, pp. 54-61.

An on-site article which reveals the operational procedure for Communist insurgency units in the Philippines. It describes the NPA's military tactics of guerrilla warfare, as well as their political cadre called POT (Political Organizing Team) whose job entails the winning of the rural population's support for the Communist movement. This article also examines the steps that Aquino has taken in order to deal with the insurgency: increasing the number of military personnel and acquiring weapon systems that meet the requirements of counterinsurgency warfare.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Philippines: A Guerrilla War at the Crossroads." Military Technology, Vol. 10, No. 9, September 1986, pp. 124-134.

An in-depth look at the military hardware, strategy, and tactics being employed by the NPA and government forces in their battle for control of the countryside. Recent estimates place NPA forces at 20,000 strong and in control of 20% of the country's villages; these figures alone indicate the severe threat that Communist insurgency poses for the stability of any democratic regime in the Philippines. NPA recruitment tactics and military strategy are discussed in detail, as well as the amounts and types of weapons they employ. The conclusion that Gritz draws from his examination of the situation is that President Aquino is handling the

insurgency the best way possible. She is implementing domestic policies that will deprive the guerrillas of discontent-fuelled support, which will render the insurgency weak enough to be handled by the government forces.

Guerrero, Amado. Specific Characteristics of Peoples' War in the Philippines. Oakland: International Association of Philippine Patriots, 1974.

The author, presumably Jose Maria Sison writing under his nom de guerre, has been described as the CPP's chief theoretician. In this work, he explains in detail the principles of revolutionary warfare as they relate to the Philippines. In general, the focus of his principles is the conversion of Philippine geographic constraints into advantages for waging "decentralized operations under centralized political leadership." It has been suggested by many that the NPA has closely followed Guerrero's theories.

Guzman, Roy S. "Leftist Leaders Call for Multi-Party System." Philippines Daily Inquirer (Manila), March 13, 1986, p. 2. [FBIS-APA-86-051, March 17, 1986, p. P20.]

Report of a symposium of leftist leaders which called for a legalization of currently "underground" leftist parties and a nationalist and revolutionary reform of the military.

Hastings, Peter. "Corruption as an Art Form." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 13, 1985, p. 11.

Part two of the series "Crisis in the Philippines," this article describes how government corruption has weakened the economy and provided an environment in which the insurgency can grow.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Philippines City Falls to Communists." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 12, 1985, p. 1.

This report states that the Marcos government cannot stop the growing Communist insurgency and that an Aquino government is seen as the only hope for success.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Round One to the Guerrillas." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 14, 1985, p. 11.

The concluding part of a series of articles entitled "Crisis in the Philippines" is an excellent study of how insurgency grows in the Philippines and how corruption gives momentum to that growth.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Politics of Murder." Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), February 12, 1985, p. 11.

Part one of the series "Crisis in the Philippines," it describes increasing violence of the insurgency and draws parallels with Vietnam.

Hawes, Gary. "United States Support for the Marcos Administration and the Pressures That Made for Change." Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1986, pp. 18-36.

Political and economic pressures push the United States away from the Marcos regime, while on the other hand, the importance of U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the growing Communist insurgency pushes the United States to favor the maintenance of the status quo. The gradual shift in U.S. policy that occurred during the fall of Marcos must continue and become even stronger, Hawes believes, if democracy under Aquino is to flourish.

Hayden, William. "Change of Government in the Philippines." Australian Foreign Affairs Record, March 1986, pp. 149-53.

This is a speech by the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs in which he discussed the change in the Philippine government and the need for continued cooperation between Australia and the Philippines. He makes many interesting points about the problems confronting both President Aquino and the NPA.

Hehn, Jochen. "President Aquino Interviewed by German Newspaper." Die Welt (Federal Republic of Germany), November 3, 1986, p. 7 [FBIS-APA-86-214, November 5, 1986, pp. P3-6.]

Topics covered include the February revolution and the relationship of Mrs. Aquino to key members of her cabinet--especially Juan Ponce Enrile. Also discussed is the possibility of a cease-fire between government forces and the Communists, and some of the barriers that must be overcome before a cease-fire can become a reality.

Hill, H. Monte. "The Downfall of Marcos." Air University Review, Vol. 37, No. 3, March-April 1986, pp. 72-81.

A historical analysis of how the once-omnipotent Ferdinand Marcos lost his political acumen and was ousted from power. This article cites the reason for Marcos's fall to be one of a "group think" mentality which caused his regime to be unable to respond to the changing forces in the Philippines.

Holliday, Dave, et.al. The Philippines: A Situation Report. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

An analysis by Senate staffers of the evolving efforts of the Philippine government, as of August 1985, to deal with economic problems, abuses of political power, and threats to U.S. interests. Based on personal interviews and visits to several parts of the Philippines, it was concluded that the prospects for overcoming the Communist insurgency were not good given the conditions under Marcos and the continuing conservative attitudes of his government.

Hunt, Chester L. "Philippine Values and Martial Law." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, September 1979, pp. 110-121.

The author addresses the circumstances under which the Marcos' regime came to power, delineates the values advocated by the regime, and outlines some of the factors which determine its impact on the Philippines.

Kaylor, Robert. "Philippines: U.S. at Risk." U.S. News and World Report, Vol. 100, No. 5, 10 February 1986, pp. 29-35.

A series of reports outlining the various problems that the Philippine turmoil has created for American interests--the threat of losing our military bases, the growing power of Communist insurgency, a failing Philippine economy which will cause losses to American industries, and the possible loss of an ally in Southeast Asia.

Kerkvliet, Benedict J. The Huk Rebellion. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.

A comprehensive study of the peasant revolt that occurred in the Philippines in the 1930's and 1940's. This book is unusual since it tries to understand the Huk rebellion from the point of view of its participants and sympathizers. Instead of viewing the rebellion from the perspective of government policymakers, as most scholars do, Kerkvliet is able to analyze the motivations for Filipino insurrection by observing the rebellion through the eyes of the insurgents themselves. This interesting study of the Huk rebellion is important today, since it gives a historical perspective to the current Communist insurgency in the Philippines as well as an analysis of Filipino radical thought.

Kessler, Richard J. "Marcos and the Americans." Foreign Policy, No. 63, Summer 1986, pp. 40-57.

This is a discussion of the relationship between President Marcos and the U.S., and the American mistakes before and after the fall of Marcos. Actions which the U.S. should take to ensure good relations with the Aquino government are also mentioned.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Philippines: A U.S. Policy Dilemma." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Vol. 41, No. 1, January 1985, pp. 41-45.

An accurate and informed analysis of the delicate U.S. position in the Philippines. Kessler points out that because of the importance of our military bases in the Philippines, the U.S. has been relegated to a position where the best action is no action. The U.S. has very few options in the Philippines. If it supports the losing side in the current political turmoil, this could lead to a situation in which the Philippines was no longer aligned with the United States. Even more frustrating for the U.S., as Kessler points out, is that our future relationship with the Philippines will be totally decided upon by a Filipino people who will view the U.S. as a result of our actions toward Marcos.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Transition of Power in the Philippines: An Interview with Dr. Richard J. Kessler." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 203-216.

This article presents Kessler's view on the recent Philippine political turmoil and what the future prospects of Cory Aquino's government could be when viewed against the problems left by Marcos.

Kim, Shee Poon. "Insurgency in Southeast Asia." Problems of Communism, May-June 1983, pp. 45-55.

The article discusses the significant factors which tend to spawn insurgencies. Some of these include ethnic, historic and economic conditions. Kim also gives examples of successful programs to combat insurgencies in Southeast Asia.

Kirk, Donald. "Marcos' Bitter Legacy." Soldier of Fortune, Vol. 11, No. 11, November 1986, pp. 50-53, 85-88.

This article gives a first-hand account of the brutal warfare occurring between the NPA and government forces, and shows how both sides are not very popular among the ordinary citizenry because of the destruction they leave across the Philippine countryside. The position of the government troops is improving due to the popular nature of Aquino, the removal of Marcos, and a policy of military reforms that deal with respecting human rights. The NPA, however, continues to fight a brutal guerrilla war and much of the Philippine countryside remains a violent war zone.

Lachica, Eduardo. The Huks: Philippine Agrarian Society in Revolt. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

A historical presentation of the rebellion by the Huks against the democratic Philippine regime. This book examines the links of this agrarian revolution to the formation of a new insurgency movement in the NPA and CPP. Also included is a captured CPP/NPA document that provides an interesting examination of their program for bringing about communism in the Philippines. Excellent source material for examining the theory and tactics behind the Communist movement in the Philippines, and in particular the origins of the CPP/NPA.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Philippines: A Critical Transition." Asia Issues-1985, New York: University Press of America, 1986, pp. 1-15.

This report outlines the Philippine political situation prior to the 1986 elections. The author discusses the problem areas facing the Philippines and concludes that the situation is not as critical as some other observers have suggested. The moderate nature of the Filipino people could only allow them to replace the Marcos regime with a democratic form of government. U.S. interests are not at grave risk if we will continue to stick with the Philippines and push for economic and political reforms.

Lacsamana, Joel D. "Militaryization in Central Luzon: What's It Like for Civilians." Business Day (Manila), March 28-29, 1985, p. 52-63.

This is a report on abuses of civilians allegedly committed by military personnel engaged in counterinsurgency operations.

\_\_\_\_\_. "More on Alleged Coup Plan." Business Day (Manila) November 7, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-216, November 7, 1986, pp. P2-3.]

This article discusses the "surgical operations" aimed at disposing of cabinet ministers in the Aquino government, and why followers of Ramos and Enrile would open the door for Communist insurgents by proceeding with such military ventures.

Lande, Carl H., and Hooley, Richard. "Aquino Takes Charge." Foreign Affairs, Vol. 64, No. 5, Summer 1986, pp. 1087-1107.

This article describes the damage that the Marcos regime did to Philippine society and the political scene that Mrs. Aquino inherited. Aquino not only has to solve severe economic and political problems, but she has to do it in such a way that it satisfies her wide-based coalition—which includes moderates, nationalists, and liberals. This article suggests that the key to Aquino's success in overcoming the Marcos legacy will be her ability to forge a unified political movement that can sustain popular support.

Laurel, Salvador H. The Philippines on the Road Towards a New Destiny. Address to the Conference on the Philippines, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts, October 5, 1986.

The question that this address attempts to answer is now that Marcos has been deposed, what kind of solutions can Mrs. Aquino find to the huge problems facing the Philippines. As a member of the Philippine government, Vice President Laurel projects a feeling of confidence that Mrs. Aquino and her advisors can overcome the economic and political chaos left by Ferdinand Marcos. This address lays out a vision of the future of the Philippines from the perspective of a prime actor in the Philippine government today. Readers must remember, however, that this speech was prepared specifically for an American audience.

Lee, N., and Hinge, A. J. "The US Bases in the Philippines." Naval Forces, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1986, pp. 8-10.

This article contends that unless the NPA triumphs in the Philippines, the American presence in these islands for the future is almost assured. The security of an American presence and U.S. aid program is too attractive for any Philippine regime to turn down. The authors believe that, unless the United States makes major policy blunders, its vested interests in the Philippines seem very secure with the Aquino government, even beyond 1991.

"Leftist Group Admits Election Boycott a Mistake." Philippine Daily Inquirer (Manila), March 13, 1986, p. 3. [FBIS-APA-86-051, March 17, 1986, p. P21.]

A brief discussion of the reevaluation by leftists of their role in the 1986 Presidential election, admitting that the boycott was a mistake and contrary to the people's wishes.

Leviste, Jose P., Jr. The American Military Bases in the Philippines: The Link Between Northeast Asian and ASEAN Security. Paper presented at the International Security Council Symposium, Seoul, Korea, January 18-20, 1987.

An evaluation of the importance of maintaining U.S. military bases in the Philippines to the overall security of the Pacific area. Leviste contends that American military bases are very important to the security of the area because of increased influence by the USSR in the Pacific, especially in the staging areas of Vietnam and North Korea. Due to recent events, however, such as the new Philippine Constitution and peace talks with Communist forces, the fate of U.S. military bases is still undecided. The author proposes that the U.S., with the aid of its Pacific allies, make every effort to retain the Philippine bases through massive economic aid.

Leviste, Jose P., Jr., ed. The Pacific Lake: Philippine Perspectives on a Pacific Community. Manila, Philippines: Philippine Council for Foreign Relations, Inc., 1986.

This book identifies Filipino perceptions of their place in the Pacific region. It documents the various conceptions held by different Filipino groups of what the Pacific Community entails, and what their nation's role should be in it. Important questions revolve around the Philippine's membership in this community: potential economic domination by the industrialized Pacific nations, national security implications because of the presence of U.S. military bases, and the problem of greater Soviet presence in the Pacific. Cesar Virata, former prime minister of the Philippines, professes in the forward of the book that the Philippine's main interest in the Pacific Community is to use it as a means of preserving peace and stability in the region.

Licayan, Abe. "Cebu Counterinsurgency Task Force Formed." Philippine Daily Inquirer [FBIS-APA-86-176, September 11, 1986, p. P14.]

This article discusses increased guerrilla activity in and around the Cebu metropolitan area which has caused the military to specialize and escalate counterinsurgency efforts.

Lim Joo-Juck, and Vani, S., eds. Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, pp. 71-105: "Rectification Process in the Philippine Communist Movement," by Francisco Nemenzo.

A well-developed history of the Communist theory behind the revolutionary movements in the Philippines. This article examines the



split which resulted in the creation of the CPP and encouraged the development of heretical sects in Philippine communism. Following the evolution of the ideological disagreement from 1967 to the present, this essay suggests that the breakdown of monolithic unity has advanced rather than retarded the growth of insurgency in the Philippines.

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Armed Separatism in Southeast Asia. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984.

Part IV of this book provides an overview of the historical origins of the Muslim separatism movement in the Philippines and the future prospects that lie ahead for the MNLF. The articles show the struggles of the MNLF within the context of the economic, political, and socio-cultural make-up of the Southern Philippines. These articles provide an excellent view of the underlying issues and principal interests that are behind the Moro resistance. The future prospects for the MNLF are also covered thoroughly and accurately, because both the national and international realities are taken into consideration. This section of the book provides a good all-around picture of the Moro insurgency movement, thus making it a valuable addition to understanding the problems facing the Aquino government.

Lohr, Steve. "Inside the Philippine Insurgency." New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1985, pp. 40-60.

The writer, reporting from an NPA guerrilla camp, provides an interesting view of the rebels in their environment, and reveals the growing military and political strength of the Communist movement in the Philippines. Written before the advent of the Aquino government, the author believes that, in the near future, communism could bring about a "new Vietnam" for the U.S. in the Philippines.

Longmire, R. A. "The Philippines: Search for Identity." Asian Affairs (U.K.), Vol. 16, Part 3, October 1985, pp. 288-297.

In this article, Longmire examines the mentality of the Filipino people and shows that because of the faltering Marcos regime the nation is faced with an identity crisis. The author sees four possible futures: (1) the continued rule of the masses by an elitist government, (2) a military seizure of power similar to others in Southeast Asia, (3) a Marxist authoritarian regime, or (4) a Western system of democracy. Though the fight could be tough, Longmire believes that the traditions of eighty years, although imperfect, will secure the future of the Filipino version of Western democracy.

Lustre, Philip. "Sison Assesses NPA Growth." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City), December 26, 1984, pp. 1-2.

In an interview, arrested CPP leader Jose Maria Sison comments on the phases of the NPA insurgency and declares that it has reached the "advanced stage of the strategic defensive." The article contains comparisons of NPA and CPP strengths based on CPP claims versus government claims. Sison explains some of the factors contributing to NPA growth and

repudiates the Moscow-oriented PKP (Partido Komunista ng Philipinas) faction.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Scholars Say Insurgency Irreversible." Ang Pahayagang Malay (Quezon City), August 10, 1985, pp. 1-2. [FBIS JPRS SEA-85-152, October 14, 1985, p. P28.]

Alejandro Lichauco, Philippine national economist, and Patrocino N. Abenales, University of Philippines researcher, discuss why the Communist insurgency will continue to escalate in a post-Marcos era. The insurgency is not seen as a Marxist movement but rather a liberation movement against 'neo-colonialism.' The history of the insurgency is examined and the basis for the success of the recruitment efforts of the movement (a growth from 100 in 1969 to over 22,000 in 1985) is given.

Madison, Christopher. "Rare White House-Congress Consensus Emerges on Policy Toward the Philippines." National Journal, Vol. 17, No. 48, November 30, 1985, pp. 2707-2712.

An article which describes the process by which the U.S. went from a firm supporter of Marcos to a supporter of self-determination in the Philippines. Under advice from all sectors of the government, the Reagan administration finally distanced the U.S. from Marcos in an attempt to defuse some of the anti-American feelings arising from the Philippine political turmoil. Madison agrees with the position of the U.S. Government and believes that the best thing that the United States could do would be to guarantee fair elections, thereby preventing radicals from growing in influence.

Magno, Jose P., Jr., and Gregor, A. James. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Philippines." Asian Survey, Vol. 26, No. 5, May 1986, pp. 501-517.

This article ties the rise of Communist insurgency to the economic problems occurring in the Philippines in the 1980's. The authors believe that political negotiations should be attempted with the insurgents, but they also believe that force will be the only way to deal with the insurgency movement since the rebels have claimed to be enemies of any "bourgeoisie" government. This article examines the operations and organization of the CCP and NPA in the Philippines, as well as showing the problems that insurgency is causing for Aquino. The authors conclude by saying that presently, for military and political reasons (including Aquino's popularity), the Philippine government has its best chance to cripple the influence of insurgency.

Malin, Herbert S. "The Philippines in 1984: Grappling with Crisis." Asian Survey, Vol. XXV, February 1985, pp. 198-205.

This article reviews the principal issues confronting the Philippines in 1984, including the growing Communist insurgency. It provides some estimates of NPA strength and its increased scope of operations.

Martin, Richard. "Democracy's Growing Pains." Insight, Vol. 3, No. 3, 19 January 1987, pp. 8-19.

This three part article takes a first-hand look at Filipino society after the removal of Marcos. The first article deals with the question of whether President Aquino has solved any of the problems facing Philippine society since she came to office. Martin concludes that Aquino has yet to come to grips with these major problems: chances of a ceasefire with Communist rebels are diminishing, the economy is weak, and her draft of a constitution faces much opposition. Although she enjoys wide support as president, she needs to form a clear direction for her policy. In the second article, Martin makes a closer examination of the collapsing Philippine economy that Aquino inherited. She has taken some measures to turn the economy around, such as rebuilding the agricultural sector and attracting foreign investment, but Filipino society still suffers unemployment and poverty. In the third article, Martin examines Aquino's problem in the south with the Muslim movement. He concludes that while she has temporarily stemmed the problem by promising a popular vote on "autonomy," the possibility of future bloodshed remains.

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. "Marcos Comes Out Fighting." Insight, Vol. 1, November 18, 1985, pp. 14-20.

This article details Marcos' last-ditch attempt to rejuvenate his regime through the use of propaganda and the call for free elections. The actions taken by the Marcos regime during this period are closely examined and evaluated in terms of their effect on the Philippine political situation and importance to American interests.

May, Ernest R., and Thomson, James C., Jr., eds. American-East Asian Relations: A Survey. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972, pp. 291-316: "The Forgotten Philippines, 1790-1946," by Peter W. Stanley.

This chapter is useful as a survey of the "historiography" of U.S.-Philippine relations over the years, as well as an excellent analysis and evaluation of the studies that have been done on the Philippines. Stanley feels that a major problem with the information that we have on U.S.-Philippine relations is that it is mainly an American interpretation. The author feels that the study of Philippine history must be broadened and deepened by the greater recognition of Filipino perspectives.

May, R. J. "The Philippines After Euphoria." Australian Outlook, Vol. 40, No. 2, August 1986, pp. 85-89.

This article points to Aquino's problem of holding together her support, which is composed of various groups including elements of both the military and the Catholic Church. The crucial test, the article suggests, is whether the president can maintain her support when the people realize that not all of their expectations can be satisfied immediately.

Mediansky, F. A. "The New People's Army: A Nation-wide Insurgency in the Philippines." Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1986, pp. 1-17.

This is an analysis of the history and organizational structure of the party (CPP) and army (NPA) organs of the Communist movement in the Philippines. Mediansky points to the long-term dangers that the Communist insurgency represents to the continuance of democracy in the Philippines. In the short term, however, the author feels that democracy is safe in the Philippines because the election of Mrs. Aquino represented the Filipino people's desire for a peaceful nonrevolutionary alternative. Now that Aquino is president, much of the popular support for the NPA has been removed.

"Military Notes Continued Violence in the South." Agence France Press (Hong Kong). [FBIS, September 11, 1986, pp. P11-12.]

This article demonstrates that internal divisions exist within the MNLF and that MNLF insurgent activities vary due to factional philosophies.

"Misuari on Unity, Self-Rule in Mindanao." Far East Broadcasting Company (Manila), September 19, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-183, September 22, 1986, p. P5.]

Nur Misuari's call for Muslim-Christian unity in the southern Philippines suggests attempts to prevent an armed showdown between Christians and the MNLF.

"Misuari Reported Consolidating Muslim Forces." Manila Bulletin, September 20, 1986, p. 8. [FBIS-APA-86-183, September 22, 1986, p. P4.]

This report suggests that with the consolidation of MNLF forces, the Muslim secessionists would now reject any move for autonomous government and would pursue instead their original objective of creating several provinces within a separate Muslim state.

"Misuari Says No MNLF-CPP/NPA Link Exists." The Manila Chronicle, October 31, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-212, November 3, 1986, p. P11.]

This statement by Nur Misari denies any links between the MNLF and the CPP/NPA/NDP.

"MNLF to Support Aquino." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), November 12, 1986 [FBIS-APA-86-218, November 12, 1986, p. P5.]

The Moro National Liberation Front believes that Corazon Aquino is the only person able to stave off insurgency and bring democracy to the Philippines.

Miller, Stuart Creighton. "Compadre Colonialism." The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 22-28.

This article provides a historical examination of the colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines which lasted

for almost a hundred years. From his examination of history, Miller believes that this relationship greatly benefited Philippine society without the exploitive drawbacks usually associated with colonialism.

"More on Cease-Fire Agreement." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), November 26, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-228, November 26, 1986, p. P1-2.]

Details for signing of a cease-fire agreement are discussed. A Communist leader is quoted as saying that if the cease-fire works, the NDF would play an active role in ensuring "a peaceful and orderly plebiscite" in the forthcoming February vote on the new Constitution.

"MNLF Feud May Erupt Into 'Fraternal Genocide'." The Manila Chronicle (Manila), September 19, 1986, p. 2. [FBIS-APA-86-183, September 22, 1986, p. P5.]

This article discusses the possibility of escalation in fighting between Nur Misuari's men and the combined pro-autonomy forces of Salamat Pundato.

"MNLF Returnees Belie Unity with NPA." Bulletin Today (Manila), June 12, 1985, p. 66. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-093-66, April 17, 1985, p. P8.]

Two MNLF commanders, Nur Khan and Gerry Salspuddin, deny any unity between the MNLF and the NPA because of the antireligious tenets of the NPA. NPA atrocities against Muslim civilians are also cited.

Molloy, Ivan. "Revolution in the Philippines: The Question of an Alliance Between Islam and Communism." Asian Survey, Vol. XXV, August 1985, pp. 822-833.

The Marcos' administration consistently identified an alliance between the Moro liberation movement and the NPA as one of the justifications for continuing martial rule. This article considers the two insurgent forces. The author discounts reports of an alliance and discusses factors within each group which prevent an effective alliance.

Montejo, Jimmy. "Rebel Spies in the Military." Ang Pahayagang Malaya, (Quezon City), September 13, 1985, pp. 1, 8.

This is a report on a press conference involving a group of defecting NPA cadre, including 14 ranking rebel leaders who were presented to the press for questioning. Claims were made that the NPA had people working for it at the detachment level of the AFP and had some officer assistance. Reference was also made to members of the religious community who aided the propaganda efforts of the NPA.

Morley, James W., ed. The Pacific Basin: New Challenges for the United States. New York: The Academy of Political Science in conjunction with the East Asian Institute and the Center on Japanese Economy and Business, Columbia University, 1986, pp. 129-141: "Toward Democracy in the Philippines," by Peter W. Stanley.

In this article, Stanley offers constructive suggestions for American foreign policy towards the Philippines. With the inevitable fall of Marcos, there will undoubtedly be a backlash against any forces that supported him. Therefore, Stanley believes that the U.S. should recognize the limits of its power in the near future in the Philippines, and be satisfied supporting a stable, democratic, and economically progressive Philippines. Stanley believes that helping the Philippines to move closer to democracy through every resource available will minimize the immediate damage to the United States and improve prospects for a cooperative relationship in the future.

Morella, Cecil. "MILF Leader Urges Rejection of Cease-Fire." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), September 12, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-177, September 12, 1986. p. P6.]

This is an analysis of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) as a radical Muslim subgroup of the MNLF, and its role in Moro secession efforts. Questions are raised as to whether MILF has gained any material influence within the MNLF.

Munro, Ross H. "The New Khmer Rouge." Commentary, Vol. 30, No. 6, December 1985, pp. 19-38.

An excellent look at the development of the current Communist movement in the Philippines--from its beginnings in the writings of Jose Sison to radical leader Rodolfo Salas' violent and open attacks against government forces. This article analyzes the reasons behind the rapid growth and popularity of this indigenous Communist movement and also attempts to predict its chances of success. Munro's analysis also divides Philippine communism into its various component factions.

"Dateline Manila: Moscow's Next Win." Foreign Policy, No. 56, Fall 1984, pp. 173-190.

This article discusses the impending fall of the Marcos regime. It reviews some of the events and major issues that led to the fall, and provides an interesting discussion of the rise of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA. The article also recommends certain courses of action for the United States now and in the future.

Murkowski, Frank H. "Observations on Recent Events in the Philippines." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 181-190.

A report made by Senator Murkowski, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on how the Congress and the Administration handled the events in the Philippines from 1984 to 1986. In this article, Murkowski provides the behind-the-scenes view of the decisionmaking process that went into the determination of U.S. foreign policy towards the Philippines. In his view, the U.S. government handled itself very well in supporting the popular candidate, Mrs. Aquino, while not sacrificing U.S. vital interests.

"NDF Confirms Cease-fire." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), November 26, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-228, November 26, 1986, p. P1.]

The NDF confirms the government announcement of a cease-fire with Communist insurgents. The cease-fire was tentatively agreed to be for 60 days and commence on December 10, 1986.

"NDF Proposes 100-Day Cease-fire Beginning 10 December." Manila Chronicle, November 2, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-212, p. P1-2.]

This report examines the NDF 100-day cease-fire proposal and the process of implementing the cease-fire.

"NPA Admits Ordering Central Luzon Liquidations." The Manila Chronicle, December 2, 1986, p. 2. [FBIS-APA-86-232, December 3, 1986, p. P6.]

The NPA Regional Command in Central Luzon admitted the killing of several politicians, police, and military officers during the period of September to November 1986. This was described as "justice" for "sins against the people."

"NPA Arms Shipment Alleged Coming From Vietnam." Far East Broadcasting Company (Manila), October 9, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-197, October 10, 1986, p. P4.]

If this report is accurate, what hitherto was a self-led, self-contained insurgency may be changing to an externally supported operation. The use of AK-47's rather than captured or recovered M-16's indicates a continued reliance on Soviet weapons and ammunition.

"NPA Here Willing to Work With New Administration." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong). [FBIS-APA-86-042, March 4, 1986, p. P7-8.]

This article deals with the questions of cease-fire and prisoner release, neither of which seems likely at this time.

"NPA's Kill 800 Soldiers, 900 Civilians." Metro Manila Times, December 26, 1984, p. 3.

An excellent summary of increased insurgent activity during the 12-month period of 1984. Statistics cited include 3500 NPA incidents, with deaths of 800 soldiers and 900 civilians. Government information shows 1000 insurgents killed. The nature of common NPA targets--local government officials and agencies--is identified. Speculates that CPP political objectives include infiltration of loyal government opposition groups and strengthening CPP front organizations.

"NPA Liquidates Marijuana Growers, Drug Suppliers." People's Daily Forum (Davao), August 21, 1984. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-84-133, September 17, 1984, p. P1-10.]

The "strict, almost ascetic" discipline of the NPA is described. Proper relations with the population and the prohibition of drug and alcohol use are particularly noted.

Nawawi, Mond A. "Political Participation During the First Five Years of the New Society in the Philippines." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1981, pp. 270-278.

This is a survey of the political policies in the first five years of the New Society. It describes the failures of government and the successes of the NPA as they relate to public acceptance and popularity.

Neher, Clark D. "Political Clientelism and Instability in the Philippines." Asian Affairs: An American Review, Vol. 12, No. 3, Fall 1985, pp. 1-23.

This article finds that the root of Philippine instability is the basic political structure. Due to the nature of the Marcos regime, which stressed and imposed clientelism throughout the political system, the Philippine government was deprived of any rational and effective institutional body. Neher sees that until the Marcos system of "cronyism" is removed and replaced by a legitimate and effective political system, the stability of the Philippines will continue to deteriorate.

Nelson, Mark, A. "The Philippines and the United States." Asian Agenda Report, No. 16. (Washington), Conference Report of the Asian Society in conjunction with the Center for Research and Communication, and the Johnson Foundation, 1986, pp. 1-50.

This conference, attended by both Filipino and American specialists on U.S.-Philippine relations, concluded that Aquino had been successful thus far in her presidency. Her continuing challenges include the revision of the constitution, the loyalty of the armed forces, land and economic reforms, and the continuing challenge of the Communist insurrection. U.S. policy should be directed to supporting issues of common interest to the United States and the Philippines, and not be centered on the geostrategic value of the Filipino nation. The United States would be best served by promoting the Philippines as an example of economic growth and democratic institutions in the region.

Nemenzo, Francisco. "Rectification Process in the Philippine Communist Movement." Armed Communist Movements in Southeast Asia, by Lim Joo-Jock, and Vani, S., eds., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984, pp. 71-105.

An exposition of the Communist theory behind the revolutionary movements in the Philippines. The split which resulted from the creation of the Communist Party of the Philippines and encouraged heretical sects in the Philippines is examined. This ideological disagreement has evolved from 1967 to the present, resulting in a breakdown of monolithic communism, and has surprisingly advanced rather than retarded the growth of the insurgency in the Philippines.

Niksach, Larry A. "Developments in Southeast Asia and Implications for U.S. Interest." Asian Defense Journal, November 1986, pp. 28-32.

An article which stresses the necessity of the U.S. maintaining a strong military and economic presence in Southeast Asia because of this area's



importance in projecting U.S. military forces, especially the 7th Fleet, and containing Soviet expansionism. The four main challenges to U.S. influence in this area are the instability in the Philippines, trade policy with ASEAN nations, supporting ASEAN unity, and the Soviet military buildup in the area. The author concludes that if the U.S. maintains a strong presence in Southeast Asia, mainly through the influx of large amounts of aid and trade packages, the challenges can be overcome. But if the U.S. fails to take this role, the security and stability of all ASEAN nations will be in danger, resulting in the weakening of the U.S. position in the Pacific.

Niksich, Larry. Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Philippines. U.S. Congress. Committee on Foreign Relations. S. Prt. 99-99. 99th Cong., 1st sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

This is a well researched and comprehensive report prepared by the Congressional Research Service at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It provides an excellent analysis of the growth of the Philippine Communist insurgency. It focuses on the causes of this growth and profiles insurgent goals, tactics and strategy. Also described is the need for political and military reforms as part of a more comprehensive counterinsurgency program.

"Ocampo Says NDF Ready to Continue Negotiations." Kyodo (Tokyo), November 20, 1986 [FBIS-APA-86-224, November 21, 1986, p. P4.]

Satur Ocampo, one of the leaders of the NDF, believes that while Mrs. Aquino is working for peace and an end to Communist insurgency in the Philippines, Defense Minister Enrile is involved in trying to block that peace and thus giving leeway to the insurgents by causing chaos on both sides of the bargaining table.

"Official Says Military Ready to Confront NPA." Philippine News Agency, September 17, 1986. [FBIS-APA-86-180, September 17, 1986, p. P7.]

Retired Brigadier General Isidoro Agunod advocates a military solution to the growing NPA presence in the rural areas. He does not appear to understand the complexity of the Philippine insurgency movement.

Olsen, Edward A., and Jurika, Stephen, eds. The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 215-240: "The Changing Role of the Philippine Military During Martial Law and the Implications for the Future," by William E. Berry, Jr.

An examination of the increased role of the military in domestic politics in the Philippines in the last decade. As a result of Marcos declaring martial law in 1972, the military has become a primary means to exercise political power and thus play a very important role in the future of the Philippines. The article examines the rapid buildup of the Philippine's military forces during the 1970's. The buildup was not a result of external threats to the Philippines (due to its geographical position as well as its close relationship to the U.S.), but instead, it served to deal with the internal politics of the state. The military was

used for many things: civic action missions, an attempt to limit dissent by reducing rural hardship; military strikes against Communist insurgents; suppression of domestic dissident groups, which has resulted in human rights violations and resentment against the Marcos regime; and the intimidation of all political opponents of Marcos. The article concludes that the Philippine military must undergo reforms, but it also must remain strong so as to protect Philippine democracy from the NPA.

Othman, Khairyl Oany. "NPA a Greater Threat than Huk." Asian Defence Journal, October 1985, pp. 115-116.

This article compares the NPA to the Huk rebellion of the 1950's, and features comments from a former Huk commander. It concludes that the successful strategy employed against the Huks will not work well with the NPA.

\_\_\_\_\_. "NPA Develops an Indigenous Style of Guerrilla Warfare." Asian Defence Journal, November 1985, pp. 115-116.

This is an analysis of the Philippine Communist insurgency and its Maoist model, and the differences between them. The article discusses the NPA's announcement that it will expand its structure to include urban areas, rather than work to isolate and surround them as Mao taught.

Overholt, William H. "Land Reform in the Philippines." Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 427-451.

This article analyzes the role of land reform in the Philippines. As Overholt notes, in the case of the Philippines, land reform has been attempted for political reasons, i.e., to avert revolution by creating rural stability. Overholt closely examines the institutions involved in land reform and notes the historical social relationships between the large land owners and the peasant class. He believes the possibility of creating a land reform that promotes equality as well as productivity rests with the ability of the villages to generate sufficient political power and support.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Rise and Fall of Ferdinand Marcos." Asian Survey, Vol. 26, No. 11, November 1986, pp. 1127-1163.

An excellent summarization of the events in the Philippines during the rule of Ferdinand Marcos. Provides a thorough background so that the current events in the Philippines can be understood.

Pelaez, Emmanuel. "The Military Bases in the Philippines: The Past and the Future." Foreign Relations Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1986, pp. 1-40.

An examination of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines from the perspective of a Filipino policymaker. A very thorough history of military bases in the Philippines is presented, then followed by the options that the Philippines have in determining the future of a U.S. military presence. Pelaez sees three options: dismantle the bases immediately, call for a national plebiscite, or allow the amended 1947 MBA

to run its full term and then renegotiate. The first option has little support and could be disastrous for the Philippines economically and from the standpoint of national security, and would cause alienation from other American allies. The option of a national referendum would be positive only if it is in conjunction with the third option. The best procedure for the Philippines, in Pelaez's view, is to wait until the 1947 MBA with the United States runs out, renegotiate a more favorable agreement from the Filipino perspective, and then ensure popular support for a U.S. presence through a national referendum.

Poole, Fred, and Vanzi, Max. Revolution in the Philippines: The United States in a Hall of Cracked Mirrors. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1984.

This book, written before the "people power" revolution, describes the future negative repercussions that the U.S. would experience as a result of its support of Ferdinand Marcos. The authors, using the first-hand experience that they acquired by living in the Philippines, believe that the Philippines will be the "next Iran" for American foreign policy. As a result of supporting martial law and helping to persecute exiles abroad, the authors believe that the U.S. has caused a rapid upsurge in popular support for the Philippine Communist movement. This misguided U.S. policy has led to instability in the region, thus creating fears that the Philippines, a nation of great strategic significance, is moving out of our realm of influence. This work is useful in that it shows where U.S. foreign policy failed in its dealings with the Philippines in the Marcos era, and can provide a guide for better relations in the future with the Aquino government.

Pringle, Robert. Indonesia and the Philippines. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

This study defines the scope and content of American national interests in Southeast Asia. It attempts to show the need for American foreign policy to establish concrete and long-lasting policies in Southeast Asia (without the specter of the old colonial relationships), instead of our traditional preoccupation with crisis management. In his chapters Pringle analyzes six areas--political stability, the importance of U.S. bases, American economic interests, human rights policy, the developmental problems of Java, and crucial environmental concerns.

Quam, Jon. "Bureaucratic Corruption in the ASEAN Countries." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, March 1979, pp. 153-177.

This article discusses corruption in Southeast Asian nations, its historical background, and measures taken to eliminate it. There is an appreciation of how corruption, as a political issue, can give rise to popular acceptance of the NPA.

"Ramos on NPA Arms 'Buying Spree' Abroad." Ang Pahayagang Malaya (Quezon City), December 17, 1984, p. 6.

Comments attributed to LTC Fidel Ramos, acting military Chief of Staff, by the Philippine News Agency (PNA), to the effect that insurgents were

buying arms abroad, but no particular country was supporting the NPA. Ramos accuses a Catholic priest, Father Luis Jalandoni, of being the NPA's chief purchaser abroad.

"Ramos to 'Hit Back Hard' Against NPA Attacks." Philippine News Agency (Manila), [FBIS-APA-86-181, September 18, 1986, p. P2-3.]

This news article provides a limited explanation of the causes for an increase in NPA activity. It provides some insight into insurgent activity vis-a-vis President Aquino's efforts at reconciliation, and the effects of her military policy which restrain the military in its pursuit of the insurgents.

"Report Implies Troops Sell Weapons to NPA on Black Market." The Manila Paper, October 15, 1986, [FBIS-SEA-84-158, November 16, 1984, p. P2.]

An increase in "non-battle related losses" of weapons by the AFP is noted as possibly due to black market sales to the NPA. A rise in black market prices of weapons is also cited.

Richardson, Michael. "No Quick End to Insurgency in the Philippines." Pacific Defence Reporter, May 1986, pp. 7-8.

The article discusses the problems facing the Aquino government in persuading the Communist-led insurgents to end the armed struggle in the Philippines. It covers the preliminary discussions underway to start negotiations on a peace formula.

Roces, Joaquin R. "This is My Own: Where Would You Go?" Ang Pahayagang Malaya (Quezon City), April 16, 1985. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-85-693-65, April 16, 1985, p. P4.]

An editorial suggesting a parallel between the U.S./French-Vietnamese conflict and the evolution of the NPA and Philippine government confrontation. The question is raised as to where the sympathies of the Philippine public will lie--with the AFP or the NPA.

Rosenberg, David R. "Communism in the Philippines." Problems of Communism, October 1984, pp. 24-46.

Rosenberg discusses the history of the Communist parties in the Philippines with emphasis on the development of the NPA. He compares the Philippine insurgency to Russian and Chinese styles, noting its similarity to Maoist thought on People's War. Rosenberg also provides a brief history of the NPA and traces its major activities since 1968.

\_\_\_\_\_. Revolution and Counter-Revolution in the Philippines. Paper presented to the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, Illinois, October 19, 1985.

A study comparing the current Communist insurgency in the Philippines with that of the Huk rebellion in the 1940's and 1950's. Rosenberg finds that the two major differences in these rebellions to be: (1) the CPP,

NPA, and the NDF have been able to learn from history, which has resulted in fewer mistakes and better organization, and (2) the Marcos regime has not been able to win the "hearts and minds" of the general population because of the malignant corruption associated with the regime. The author concludes that armed insurgency has a chance to succeed in the Philippine future.

Rosenberger, Leif. "Philippine Communism and the Soviet Union." Survey (U.K.), Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 113-145.

A look at the two-pronged attack by Communist forces in the Philippines--the military struggle and the growing influence in the political realm. Rosenberger also makes a close examination of the various Communist factions--NPA, CPP, and the PKP--and their leadership, as well as identifying which group receives the most interest from the Soviet Union. By examining the internal workings of the Philippine Communist movement and the Soviet interests in the area, Rosenberger sees an opportunity for a stronger connection between the two Communist forces since the Filipino populace feel a strong sense of anti-Marcosism and anti-Americanism.

Roth, David F. "The Deterioration and Reconstruction of National Political Parameters: the Philippines During the 1970's." Asian Survey, Vol. 13, No. 9, September 1973, pp. 812-825.

An examination of the reasons for the deterioration of the democratic political system in the Philippines, and how the failure of the political system to respond appropriately has led to problems throughout Filipino society--public health, food production, housing, violent insurgency, and economic failure. To deal with the growing problems, Marcos eliminated any opposition by creating an autocratic regime through martial law. This step by Marcos is viewed by the author to be a very daring manner in which to deal with the problems created by an inefficient and overly bureaucratic regime. Whether the "New Society" that is created in the Philippines under this authoritarian regime will be any better than the old one is problematic. But as the author notes, "It cannot get worse for Juan de la Cruz."

Rush, James R. "Bringing Marcos Down: Part I: The Electoral Tradition." Universities Field Staff International, No. 3, 1986, pp. 1-7.

An electoral history of Philippine politics over the last 80 years. In this paper the author shows that the tradition of elections is deeply rooted in Filipino society. The concept of party politics has also taken firm root in Filipino society, but it has taken the form of a unique variation which gives personal leadership primacy over issues. The article examines trends in the Philippine electoral process and shows how the cherished tradition of elections placed Corason Aquino in the presidency.

Sacerdoti, Guy. "Her House in Order." Far Eastern Economic Review, March 20, 1986, pp. 14-15.

This article discusses the challenges President Aquino faces in bringing about reforms and dealing with the assorted demands of the CPP. Also examined is the struggle within the ranks of the CPP and the reassessment of its decision to boycott the presidential elections.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reds See Their Missed Chances." Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, June 12, 1986, pp. 45-46.

This article describes the CPP's policy reevaluation in response to the assumption of power by the Aquino government. CPP goals are to "reestablish clear leadership over the political struggle." NPA doctrine will stress an "active defense."

Sacerdoti, Guy, and Bowring, Philip. "Marx, Mao and Marcos." Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 130, No. 46, November 21, 1985, pp. 52-62.

This article examines the rapid growth of Communist insurgency in the Philippines which has resulted from the reaction of the people to the corruption of the Marcos regime. This article explains the recent growth of the Philippine Left, both in the military sector (the NPA) and in the political sector (the CPP and the NDF). An excellent presentation of the multi-pronged insurgency movement by the Filipino Left.

San Juan, Epifanio. Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1986.

This book gives an insider's view of the political turmoil that has grown in the Philippines in response to the Marcos regime. The author is the leading Marxist theoretician in the Philippine liberation movement, so events are portrayed in a very single-minded, anti-American light. He dramatically portrays the Filipino people's struggle for self-determination and the activities and growth of the NPA, and analyzes the global policy of the United States. His criticism of the U.S. is best summarized in the preface, when he takes an old quote of George Kennan's and places it at the cornerstone of present U.S. policy in the Philippines: "We should cease to talk about vague and--for the Far East--unreal objections such as human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are hampered by idealistic slogans, the better." This book is especially useful because it presents the Philippine situation from the perspective of a Marxist revolutionary.

Schirmer, Daniel B. "Sitting in Darkness: Americans in the Philippines" (Book Review). Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1986, pp. 249-257.

This article is a review of Sitting in Darkness, a book by David Haward Bain which tells of the role of the U.S. Army in the Philippine

insurrection. Schirmer is very critical of this book. Because of the current political turmoil in the Philippines, he believes that it is "important that the people of the United States have an accurate understanding of the colonial roots of current U.S. policy toward the Philippines from every aspect, including the moral." The reviewer objects to the portrayal of a U.S. Army officer, General Frederick Funston, as a national hero, even though he allegedly committed atrocities against Filipinos. Schirmer believes this can hardly contribute to a better understanding of the Philippine situation.

Scott, Margaret. "The Mood in Mindanao." Far Eastern Economic Review, January 30, 1986, pp. 12-13.

An informative report on attitudes of Filipinos in Mindanao and conditions during the 1986 presidential campaign. Attention is given to NPA attacks and AFP counterinsurgency efforts in various parts of Mindanao. Concern is expressed that political solutions may no longer be possible because of the NPA threat.

"Shadow Government in Davao Province." Times Journal (Manila), [FBIS-JPRS-83076-65, March 3, 1983, p. Pl.]

This is an editorial outlining basic NPA tactics in Davao Province and City. The ideological context of the struggle is highlighted.

Shalom, Stephen Rosskamm. The United States and the Philippines: A Study of Neocolonialism. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981.

This book analyzes the relationship of the United States and the Philippines from MacArthur's return in 1944 up to 1981, the latter part of the Marcos martial law era. The author's thesis is that the U.S. "neocolonialism" in the Philippines has been perpetuated through an alliance between U.S. business and government and the Philippine political and economic elites. Shalom contends that the United States has been allowed to exploit the Philippines economically and strategically for its own interests because the relationship is extremely profitable to the narrow elite which constitutes the Philippine oligarchy. The book is well documented, with extensive use of U.S. government documents and provides an interesting alternative perspective on U.S.-Philippine relations.

Shaplen, Robert. "A Reporter at Large--From Marcos to Aquino - I." The New Yorker, Vol. 62, No. 27, August 25, 1986, pp. 33-73.

A careful study of the various social groups in the Philippines and how their dissatisfaction with Marcos led to his ouster and the elevation of the popular leader, Cory Aquino, to the presidency of the Philippines. Now, after gaining power, Aquino still faces the gigantic task of solving political-economic problems in a manner that will satisfy all of the various groups in Philippine society. This article identifies the groups which are influencing policymaking decisions.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Reporter at Large--From Marcos to Aquino - II." The New Yorker, Vol. 62, No. 28, September 1, 1986, pp. 36-64.

The second part to Shaplen's article continues the description of Aquino's takeover of power and how she is dealing with the various political forces in the Philippines. Both parts of this article provide an excellent picture of recent events and their impact on the evolutionary development of the Aquino government.

Sicam, Paulynn. "CPP to Side with Aquino Against Military Coup." The Manila Chronicle (Philippines), November 12, 1986.

NPA/CPP leaders express support for Aquino and oppose any coup at this time.

Singh, Jasjit. "U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines: Shifting Patterns and Strategies." Strategic Analysis, Vol. 10, No. 2, May 1986, pp. 165-173.

An intricate analysis of the role that the Philippines plays in U.S. military strategy. Although some critics claim that Philippine bases are not needed in the nuclear age of warfare, the author argues differently, citing the U.S. commitment to a 600-ship navy and a forward defense system. Without the naval bases in the Philippines the recently created CENTCOM strategy will be made more difficult due to an increase in the military presence of both superpowers in the Indian Ocean, thus causing greater instability in the region. Singh argues that the United States must attempt to retain its military presence in the Philippines so as to avoid greater instability in the region.

Smith, Roger M., ed. Southeast Asia: Documents of Political Development and Change. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.

An analysis of the tension that was beginning to develop in the Philippines in the middle of the 1970's. Using primary source material from Ferdinand Marcos and Teodoro Locsin, this article shows that the growing discontent of the Filipino people is reaching a stage where the stability of the regime is uncertain. This article traces the growth of this instability from the Huk rebellion to its present incarnation in Jose Sison and the Leftist movement. By viewing the problems of the Philippines in the 1970's through the controversial documents of that period, one can gain a much better understanding of the events of 1986.

Smolowe, Jill. "Inside the Communist Insurgency." Time, Vol. 127, No. 5, February 3, 1986, pp. 36-37.

This article presents an excellent look at the Philippine Communist rebels and what they hope to achieve. The NPA bases its plans on Maoist theory, which sees three stages to a revolution: "strategic defensive," the time when Communist support is built; "strategic stalemate," the time when insurgents are at equal power with government troops; and "strategic offensive," the time when insurgents gain the upper hand. The insurgents now believe that they are at the end of the first stage. Smolowe believes



that the NPA must be stopped by an increased military response coupled with a series of economic reforms which would remove support for the Communist insurgents.

Sturtevant, David R. Popular Uprisings in the Philippines 1840-1940.  
Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.

An examination of peasant uprisings in the Philippines from a historical perspective. The author identifies the peasant rebellions over a hundred year period of Filipino history and shows that the origins of these movements were in the profound tensions within Filipino society, not in the economic conditions. This unusual interpretation of Philippine radicalism centers its focus on the transition of these various movements from mysticism and supernaturalism to relative political sophistication. This book provides a unique look at the causes of Filipino radicalism, thus making it a useful tool in examining the Communist movement today.

Suter, Keith D. "The Current Military Situation in the Philippines." The Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies, Vol. 131, No. 3, September 1986, pp. 43-48.

A general analysis of the problems facing the Aquino regime and what measures can be taken in order to solve them. Many experts have labelled the Philippines as the next "Vietnam" or "Iran" for the United States, but Suter believes that the situation is not that gloomy and that the Filipinos will once again regain their vitality. He believes that economic reforms will be able to fix the problems created by Marcos, and Mrs. Aquino has the popularity and intelligence (similar to that of Magsaysay) needed to defeat the threat posed by Communist insurgency.

Szaz, Z. Michael. "The Philippines Under Marcos." Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3, Fall 1985, pp. 305-322.

A general background article on the history of the Philippines from its colonial period to the later years of the Marcos regime. A thorough rendition of the martial law period is presented as well as the historical development of indigenous opposition to Marcos' rule. The article provides limited analysis, but does a thorough job of presenting recent Filipino political history.

Tan, Abby. "Another Vietnam." The Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), September 14, 1984, p. 9. [FBIS-JPRS-SEA-86-149, October 29, 1984, p. P9.]

A useful summary of the history of the NPA and the reasons for its success.

Tapales, Proserpina Domingo. Assessing Authoritarian Rule on the Philippine Government: What Efficiency? What Accountability? Paper presented to the Mid-Atlantic Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, DC, October 25-27, 1985.

This paper concludes that the authoritarian rule of Philippine government on society, which was brought about by martial law, has done

little to justify itself. Though innovations were brought about much quicker under martial law, all the benefits were lost because the changes catered to the personal whims of the ruling elite.

Tarr, Peter. "Aquino's First Year." The Nation, Vol. 244, No. 22, March 21, 1987, pp. 353-357.

Tarr takes a critical look at Aquino's first year in office and finds it less successful than do many American observers. In Tarr's opinion, Aquino's government is not occupying the moral high ground that is generally believed--a failed attempt in maintaining the peace talks, no reform of the military, and the cost of fighting a civil war has limited the extent to which economic reforms may be implemented. The author believes that Aquino must negotiate with the rebellious groups since the failure of the peace process has pushed the belligerent parties deeper into their ideological stances, resulting in a greater loss of life and further impoverishment of the nation. Aquino, in Tarr's belief, must be willing to make concessions or else her administration's modest chance to make meaningful changes will be severely jeopardized.

Tasker, Rodney. "To the Left, March!" Far Eastern Economic Review, December 18, 1986, pp. 13-14.

An analysis of the effects of the cease-fire indicates that the NDF and the government of the Philippines are engaged in a "propaganda war" which the Communists are seen as winning. The cease-fire has enhanced the image of the insurgents and provided them with a forum for their demands. The prospects for a lasting end of the fighting are seen as dim.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Down But Not Out." Far Eastern Economic Review, October 23, 1986, pp. 18-19.

A chief Communist theorist and original founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), Jose Maria Sison expresses his perceptions of the AFP's weaknesses, and the strengths and tactics of the NPA. Aquino's ties to the AFP and the United States are questioned and the resolve of the CPP to continue its resistance is confirmed.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Rejoice. . .and Regroup." Far Eastern Economic Review, December 25, 1986, pp. 11-13.

During the 60-day cease-fire the NDF/NPA have sought political gains through propaganda efforts and military shows of strength. Government forces have announced civic action and military training programs under the new Minister of Defense, Ileto. Both sides assume that fighting will be renewed.

Tatad, Francisco S. "Here and Now." Business Day (Manila), January 23, 1985, p. 4.

This article discusses questions regarding the NPA insurgency and the government's inability to come up with a social and political program to counter it.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Beyond the Next Election." Business Day (Manila), April 1, 1985, p. 4.

This is an analysis of the Communist insurgency and the failure of the Marcos government to deal effectively with it.

Terew, Oliver. "NDF Statement 'Welcomes' Enrile's Departure." Kyodo (Tokyo), November 23, 1986 [FBIS-APA-86-226, November 24, 1986, p. P5.]

This is an explanation of the reaction of NDF officials to changes in Aquino's cabinet, specifically the acceptance of Defense Minister Enrile's resignation. It contains a response to Aquino's criticism of delays in cease-fire talks, and expresses the NDF's lingering concerns about military influence in the Aquino government.

"'Text' of NDF July Memorandum On Cease Fire." The New Philippines Daily Express (Manila), November 28, 1986, p. 7. [FBIS-APA-86-231, December 2, 1986, pp. P7-10.]

This is the text of a memorandum, drawn up between the National Urban Committee and the United Front Commission, forming the National Democratic Front in July 1986. It outlines 12 basic objectives of the organization, to include NDF policies and tactics.

"The Transition of Power in the Philippines: An Interview with Dr. Richard J. Kessler." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 203-216.

This article presents Kessler's view of the recent Philippine political turmoil and what the future prospects of Cory Aquino's regime could be when viewed against the problems left by Marcos.

Thomsom, James C., Jr., Stanley, Peter W., and Perry, John Curtis. Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981.

This book provides excellent background material for understanding American actions and interests in the Far East. The three authors interpret relations between the U.S. and Eastern civilizations (including the Philippines, China, Vietnam, Korea, etc.) and show the trends and dynamic changes that have characterized these relationships. The excellent research done by these authors provides the reader with a frame of reference when viewing current events in East Asia, as well as the possible developments in U.S.-East Asian relations in the near future.

Turpin, James Alexander. "New Society's Challenge in the Philippines." Conflict Studies, No. 122, September 1980, pp. 1-23.

This brief study examines the "New Society" that Marcos created in the Philippines through martial law and his policy of dictatorial rule. Turpin looks at the stability and success of this system by examining the positives (such as the economic growth in the 1970's) and the negatives (such as insurgency and Muslim separatism). This study is useful today

because it offers a clear picture of how the negative aspects of the "New Society" overwhelmed the positive aspects and led to the destruction of the Marcos regime.

"The United States and the Philippines: An Interview with Ambassador Paul D. Wolfowitz." The Fletcher Forum, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1986, pp. 191-202.

This interviewer asks what the American policy in the Philippines is now that Cory Aquino is president. The Ambassador answers that our policy would remain basically the same as it was prior to the elections of 1986, since our desire still exists for an independent, democratic Philippines that retains close ties with the U.S. Now that Aquino is president, the U.S. will willingly support her since she seems the best hope for a stable and democratic Philippines. The rest of the interview deals with other important and specific issues, such as the threat posed by the NPA, how U.S. policy was determined, and what Aquino can do to resolve Filipino problems. This useful article provides answers to specific questions about the Philippine situation.

U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs. Assessing America's Options in the Philippines. 99th Cong., 2d sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

A group discussion on what the possible prospects are for the post-election period in the Philippines, and the question of whether either candidate will have the ability to create stability in the Philippines afterward. Statements are also made concerning the economic crisis and Communist insurgency which loom following the election. The U.S. military and strategic interests in the Philippines are discussed and examined, as well as placed into the context of the question of what the United States can do policy-wise to protect these interests.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Preparation for the February 1986 Philippine Presidential Election. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 18, 1985.

Discussion centers on the possibilities for credible presidential elections in the Philippines, but recognizes the importance of countervailing military forces. The discussion focuses on the preparations for the February 1986 Philippine presidential election and incorporates those tangential issues which loom inevitably overhead.

. Report to the President on the February 7, 1986 Elections in the Philippines. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1986.

This document presents a detailed examination of the February 7, 1986 presidential election in the Philippines. It observes that substantial irregularities took place in the conduct of the election. The report concludes that the election was won by the Aquino ticket. It also covers the activities of the CPP and NPA during the election, including harassment, intimidation and boycott actions.

. The Presidential Election Process in the Philippines.  
Senate Print 99-113, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1986.

This publication presents a brief summary of issues relating to the election laws, campaign procedures and election mechanisms being used in the Philippines for the February 7, 1986 presidential election. While the document has little bearing on the insurgency, it does present material of use in analyzing the weaknesses of the Marcos regime--an issue on which the insurgency feeds.

. The Philippines: A Situation Report. Senate Print 99-96, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

This staff report is a good introduction to recent history but offers few surprises. It looks more at the interactions of revolutionary cause and effect than at the operational aspects of NPA military undertakings. This article was written before the election of Corazon Aquino and did not anticipate the possibility of government/NPA reconciliation.

. U.S.-Philippines Relations and the New Bases and Aid Agreement. H381-94. 98th Cong., 1st sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

These transcripts of hearings assess the significance of U.S. bases in the Philippines and internal conditions. Among the statements presented are overviews of the various insurgent movements and an assessment of political opposition, including the Communist insurgents.

. Situation in the Philippines and Implications for U.S. Policy. 98th Cong., 2d sess., Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

Statements by diplomats and DOD and AID officials considering, in part, the internal security posture of the Philippine government with emphasis on the Communist insurgency and the effect on U.S. aid objectives for the Philippines.

. U.S. Policy Toward the Philippines. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

Transcript of hearings before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs and the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations to consider political and internal security conditions in the Philippines and the implications for U.S. policy. Certain statements provide valuable comment and analysis on the deteriorating government position in military campaigns against Communist insurgents in Mindanao.

. Reconciling Human Rights and U.S. Security Interests in Asia. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982.

Transcripts of statements given (before the Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations) as

part of an examination of U.S. human rights concerns in Asia as they might relate to U.S. security interests in the region. Among those testifying was a group of diplomats and academicians analyzing human rights in the Philippines and the status of Philippine government operations against Communist and Muslim insurgents.

. A Staff Report Prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations--Visit to the Philippines--August 2-13, 1985. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

This is an excellent discussion of Marcos' ailing government and NPA opportunism. The effects of NPA actions, Marcos' use of the AFP, the political advantages gained by the CCP and the NPA, and the role of the media are specifically noted. The report postulates that economic changes could stem the growth of the NPA.

Van der Kroef, Justus M. "Philippine Communist Theory and Strategy: A New Departure?" Pacific Affairs, Vol. 48, No. 2, Summer 1975, pp. 181-198.

An article which shows the growing number of options that the Communist movement had in the middle of the 1970's when Marcos' regime began to lose its stability. Not only did the Communist's military arm, the NPA, enjoy an increase in its armed forces, but the political organizations of the NDF and the PKP were growing in importance and influencing the decisionmaking of President Marcos. The author finds that during the middle of the 1970's, the Philippine Communists were enjoying a period of great prosperity and success in cultivating popular support. Van der Kroef even fears that as a result of the growing Communist power, the Philippines might be gradually aligning with the socialist powers and away from the United States.

. "The Philippines of Aquino: The Long Morning After." World Affairs, Vol. 148, No. 3, Winter 1985-1986, pp. 139-150.

A thoughtful analysis of the problems that lie ahead for Mrs. Aquino, now that the popular revolution has given her power. This article reveals that there are major issues to confront in the Philippines, such as national reconstruction and stabilizing governmental power, after the euphoria of revolution has died away.

Zaragoza, Gerry N. "Business Day on Insurgency, Image of Military." Manila Business Day, February 27, 1985, p. 22 [FBIS JPRS-SEA-85-050, March 21, 1985, pp. P106-110.]

The history of the NPA and the key factors that have led to its success are outlined. The problems experienced by the AFP in combating the NPA, as well as the concerns of neighboring nations about the growing insurgency, are discussed.

Zich, Arthur. "The Marcos Era." The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, Summer 1986, pp. 34-40.

This article outlines Marcos's rise to power, how he maintained his power, and the policies he initiated in the Philippines. It presents in a

clear and historical manner the policies of Marcos that led the Philippines to the brink of collapse. This article provides useful insights into the historical context of the problems facing Mrs. Aquino.

"600 Rebels Killed in NPA Purge of Zombies." Business Day (Manila)  
[FBIS-APA-86-197, October 9, 1986, p. P3.]

This story raises the question of the quality of NPA intelligence and leadership, and the effectiveness of the AFP deep penetration agents. Considering the source of the story, and the scarcity of any corroboration, this may be a case of disinformation.

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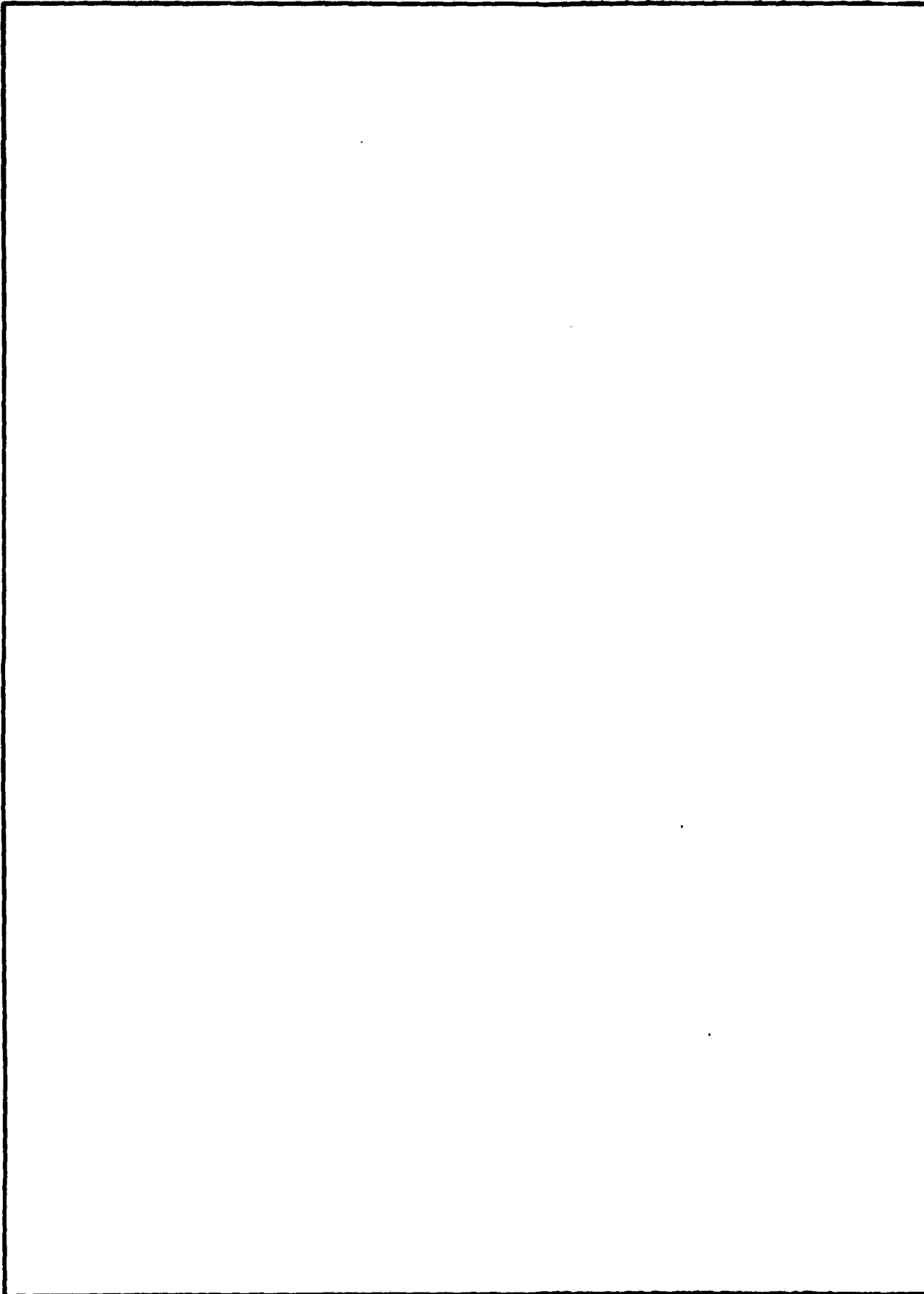
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